## Chapter V

## ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

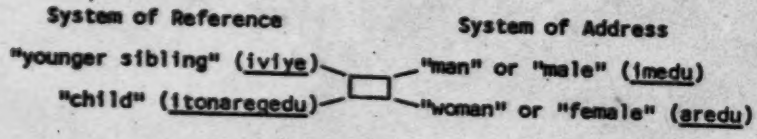
### Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 10-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
• 561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").




*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(MP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

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602

| | "grand-father" and "mother" | "sibling" | "grand-mother" and "father" | "grand-child" and "child" | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pega rogu | + | + | + | | |
| pega | + | + | + | | Senior |
| rogu | | + | | | |
| 0 | + | + | + | + | |
| 0 | + | + | + | + | |
| rogu | | + | + | + | |
| pega | | | + | + | Junior |
| pega rogu | | | + | + | |

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

*601
● 561 The kinship terms can receive further specifications. The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

ipebutojagiwu ("the one born after me"), or koduirekodajiwu ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers, the oldest will be described as etumanareu ("their older brother"), the second as boyadadawu ("the one in the middle"), and the youngest one as etuviyereu ("their younger brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be addressed as imedregedu. Finally there is a special term for a man's first born son, ikenojiwu ("the one on my nose," which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

There are still a few more alternative terms that should be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quarrels with his sister's husband, he will call the latter otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity). He will be called in return by his proper name instead of imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may choose to call each other reciprocally either ito inowu ("the one like me") or imeduya ("my companion") instead of iyedaga and ivagedu. Similarly two women married to the same man, will call each other reciprocally either itoydo ("the one like me") or imedago ("my companion"). There are also some conventional expressions used when two people speak about a third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other indian tribe.

*601 In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any
561 Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:
562

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyoqwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imerugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

to Ego's father's clan.

*601 561 562 Iyegedu ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

Irago ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

*601 82 A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Araroe have araro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Araroe have araro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

822 796 237 302 614 822 [825] In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: maridо oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivadududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [561] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or uruqureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger brothers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruqugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

[561] [562]

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 the possibility of reciprocity and equality.
[181]

553 Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
881 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
* [601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

722
561 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

894
787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ike, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
835 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[629] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
● [561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text continues on p.601]

561 /500 cont./
571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."

/502 cont./

836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] [439] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always 436 pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.